

Investigating the representation of migrants in the UK and Italian press: A cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse analysis

Article (Published Version)

Taylor, Charlotte (2014) Investigating the representation of migrants in the UK and Italian press: A cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 19 (3). pp. 368-400. ISSN 1384-6655

This version is available from Sussex Research Online: <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/50044/>

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies and may differ from the published version or from the version of record. If you wish to cite this item you are advised to consult the publisher's version. Please see the URL above for details on accessing the published version.

Copyright and reuse:

Sussex Research Online is a digital repository of the research output of the University.

Copyright and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable, the material made available in SRO has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 19:3
© 2014. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible to members (students and staff) only of the author's/s' institute, it is not permitted to post this PDF on the open internet.

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

Please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website: www.benjamins.com

Tables of Contents, abstracts and guidelines are available at www.benjamins.com

Investigating the representation of migrants in the UK and Italian press

A cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse analysis

Charlotte Taylor

University of Sussex

This paper is a cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse study of the representation of migrants in the Italian and UK press and it adopts a two-stage methodological approach. In the first phase, the number of references to nationalities which collocate with *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants*, *migrants* (and Italian equivalents) are calculated and this information is subsequently used to identify any 'mismatch' between the amount of attention that migrants from a given country receive in the media and the official population estimates. In the second, and most extensive stage, the representations of the foregrounded nationalities are analysed through the moral panic framework. Results show an extensive negative representation of some groups, but there is no evidence of a fully iterated moral panic relating to any of the nationalities investigated.

Keywords: migrants, representation, cross-linguistic, discourse, CADS

1. Introduction

This paper is a cross-linguistic case-study in which the methods of corpus linguistics are combined with discourse analysis to investigate the representation of migrants in the Italian and UK press. Two methodological procedures are employed: cross-linguistic discourse analysis and the integration of corpus-external data to the research process.

Rather than examining migrants as a homogenous collective group, a multi-step approach is taken to identify those who are foregrounded in the press. In an earlier stage of the project (reported in Partington et al. 2013) emic accounts of *racism* and *xenophobia* were analysed to provide a background of the newspapers' own conceptualisation of these terms. Analysing the way in which the terms

racism and *xenophobia* were used showed how the press consistently exploits attribution, including the use of letters sections, in order to express alignment with or understanding of prejudiced viewpoints. There was also, as might be expected, a greater sympathy in UK tabloids, compared to the broadsheets, shown towards those accused of racism.

In the subsequent phase which establishes which are the ‘newsworthy’ groups, I identify the various nationalities which co-occur with REFUGEE, ASYLUM SEEKER, IMMIGRANT, MIGRANT (terms identified in Gabrielatos 2007 and applied in Baker 2007 and Gabrielatos & Baker 2008) and Italian equivalents (taken from Taylor 2009). In Section 4 this information is compared to ‘real-world’ statistical data in order to identify any mismatch between the estimated numbers of migrants from a given country and the amount of attention that they receive in the media. This simple comparison of estimated populations and media visibility aids in identifying groups which are foregrounded and potentially the subject of moral panics (Cohen 1972) in the press. Therefore, the application of McEnery’s (2005) moral panic framework to the data forms the second, discourse analysis-driven, stage of analysis, reported in Section 5.

In any kind of cross-cultural research, the different contexts of production need to be taken into account, and Italy and the UK have very different histories regarding immigration and emigration. Within Italy, *immigrazione* (“immigration”) generally referred to internal migration, particularly in the post-war period, when, according to Laquinta (2002), almost twenty million Italians migrated from the south to the north. Indeed *immigrazione* and *immigrati* (“immigrants”), when used to refer to *immigration* and *immigrants* in the (British) English sense, are often post-modified by *stranier** (“foreign”). This general trend can be seen in the collocates of *immigrant/immigrato* in the large, similarly constructed enTenTen and itTenTen web-corpora¹ (available on SketchEngine, Kilgariff et al. 2004) as the term *straniero* (“foreign”) occurs in position 17. Table 1 also shows the importance attached to geographical/regional identity with half of the collocates in each section of the table referring to this aspect.

Despite this history and cultural salience of emigration, at the time of writing Italy has a lower rate of emigration than the UK, as Table 2 shows, and the number of foreign nationals (calculated by citizenship) resident in Italy is now quite similar to that in the UK (see Vasta 1993 for an overview of changes in Italian migration policies). Table 2 also includes 1999 data to allow for some comparison of how the situation has developed in the two countries as this variable is likely to affect newsworthiness.

1. enTenTen contains 11,191,860,036 words and itTenTen contains 2,588,873,046 words (according to SketchEngine measurements).

Table 1. Top 20 modifiers of *immigrant* and *immigrato* (ranked according to LogDice score)

	Raw freq. LogDice			Raw freq. LogDice	
irregolare (“undocumented”)	2,599	10.44	illegal	11,045	10.66
clandestino (“illegal”)	2,104	9.97	undocumented	1,728	10.04
extracomunitario (“non-EU”)	972	9.23	Mexican	958	8.35
regolare (“documented”)	2,002	9.12	unauthorized	284	7.12
illegale (“illegal”)	598	8.09	Irish	694	7.07
residente (“resident”)	634	7.89	Hispanic	259	6.95
musulmano (“Muslim”)	451	7.59	Muslim	526	6.86
marocchino (“Moroccan”) ²	212	7.45	Chinese	729	6.74
africano (“African”)	437	7.23	French-speaking	149	6.73
albanese (“Albanian”)	191	6.97	legal	1,623	6.66
nato (“born”)	160	6.85	Asian	417	6.64
romeno (“Romanian”)	127	6.81	Italian	369	6.57
senegalese (“Senegalese”)	93	6.62	Jewish	636	6.53
indiano (“Indian”)	214	6.51	first-generation	127	6.48
nordafriicano (“north-African”)	77	6.46	skilled	255	6.48
extra-comunitari (“non-EU”)	68	6.37	German	578	6.36
straniero (“foreign”)	606	6.3	Haitian	124	6.32
rumeno (“Romanian”)	95	6.27	second-generation	113	6.31
messicano (“Mexican”)	107	6.2	recent	1,282	6.28
tunisino (“Tunisian”)	74	6.17	Polish	171	6.25

Table 2. Demographic data for the UK and Italy in 1999 and 2009

	1999		2009	
	UK	Italy	UK	Italy
Population	58,785,246	56,923,524	61,595,091	60,045,068
Foreign-born persons usually resident	n.a.	n.a.	6,769,300	4,375,240
Foreigners usually resident (based on citizenship)	2,297,947	1,116,394	4,184,011	3,891,295
Long-term immigrants entering	354,077	185,052	566,514	442,940
Long-term emigrants leaving	245,340	64,873	368,176	80,597
Asylum applications	71,160	18,450	50,025	17,525
Refugees	n.a.	n.a.	269,363	54,965

2. Although the literal translation is *Moroccan*, the term *marocchino* is a pejorative term used to refer to anyone of north African appearance, and/or to people selling goods on the street.

Previous research into the Italian press and immigration has tended to come from a more sociological angle, for instance Triandafyllidou (1999) focuses on the relationship between immigration and national identity in 44 articles from two Italian current affairs magazines (*L'Espresso* and *Panorama*) over the period 1990–1995. She finds that “territory and culture are the main dimensions used in the press to distinguish between Italians and *extracomunitari* (“non EU-citizens”)” (Triandafyllidou 1999: 82), and that debate on immigration involves the racial re-elaboration of national identity. She goes on to claim that this racial construction of identity leads to a:

de-individuation of immigrants who are then treated not as individuals but as members of a given group that is categorised beforehand. Thus, Albanians are criminals, Nigerians are prostitutes and Moroccans are dishonest, for instance. Moreover, such personality features are taken as genetically given and unchangeable. Therefore, the ‘rational’ solution is that these people ‘remain in their countries’.

(Triandafyllidou 1999: 83)

So, essentially, Triandafyllidou (1999) is dealing with national stereotypes and subsequent argumentations attributed to groups of migrants and, as we see below, the type of attribute remains constant in the regional press. In another study from the discipline of sociology, Sciortino & Colombo (2004) carry out a content analysis of current affairs magazines (*L'Espresso*, *Panorama* and *L'Europeo*) between 1969 and 1981 and find that the most frequent category or context within which migrants were discussed was economy or the labour market. In contrast, over the later period 1982–1991, the most frequent context was politics and legislation and in the 1992–2001 period, the most frequent category was deviance (as a note of caution, it should be noted that they used a different dataset for these periods and the exact methodology is not detailed). Although the authors caution that increased news reporting of crime or deviance in the later dataset correlates with police reports of criminal acts by foreigners, they conclude that there is a gap between reality and public discourse on immigration as immigrants are decreasingly discussed in relation to the labour market while they are increasingly becoming an integral part of that economy.

With reference to representation in the UK context, there has been sustained interest from van Dijk's (1991) seminal text onwards and this has developed in different directions, such as Hart's (2010) cognitive approach. The RASIM project, mentioned previously, in a combination of CDA and corpus linguistics identified eight main categories of reference, which were regularly used to negatively evaluate migrants: (i) provenance/transit/destination, (ii) number, (iii) entry, (iv) economic problems, (v) residence, (vi) return/repatriation, (vii) legality, and (viii) plight. They find that these patterns were strongest in the tabloids and those

relating to economic patterns and legality were most likely to include negative reference. Rasinger (2010) uses similar methods to addresses representation in the somewhat under-researched regional press (*Cambridge Evening News*). Using transitivity analysis (in the systemic functional linguistic sense), he finds that migrants in headlines were predominantly actors of negative processes, (although of course negativity is a key news value, e.g. according to Galtung & Ruge's (1965) ranking or Harcup & O'Neill's (2001) revised set) and this motif of threat is also confirmed through the corpus analysis.

The present paper draws on such previous studies, but attempts to break down the category of migrant in order to see how the various (geographical) migrant identities are portrayed (and, naturally, these in turn could be more fully deconstructed).

2. Cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies

The methodological framework used in this study combines corpus linguistics and discourse analysis in an approach frequently referred to as 'corpus-assisted discourse studies', CADS (coined in Partington 2004, see Partington et al. 2013 for a set of case-studies and discussion). The CADS work falls within a tradition led by Stubbs (e.g. 1996) and Mautner (e.g. 1995, 2009, 2010) and recently driven by Baker and associated Lancaster-based research groups (e.g. Baker 2006, 2012; Baker et al. 2008; Baker et al. 2013, Gabrielatos et al. 2012) which has been gaining in popularity in recent years.³

The more specialised area of cross-linguistic CADS has recently come to the fore thanks to the work of Vessey (2013) and papers arising from the EU-funded *IntUne* project which ran from 2005–2009 and investigated the theme of citizenship in Europe, in particular in France, Italy, Poland and the UK (see Bayley & Williams 2012). Although the term 'cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies' (used in Partington et al. 2013) is relatively new, the practice has been present for some time under the general umbrella of corpus linguistics (e.g. Jaworska & Krishnamurthy 2012) or in work which identifies itself as 'bi-lingual CADS' (e.g. Freake et al. 2011) or 'corpus-based contrastive linguistics/discourse analysis' (e.g. Granger et al. 2003, Taboada et al. 2013). However, the lack of comparative research into discourse at the level of social practice and representation has been emphasised by Moschonas & Spitzmulle (2010), who argue that "there is an urgent need to devise methodologies for the processing of large corpora, and particularly

3. See for instance the online bibliography run by Costas Gabrielatos at www.gabrielatos.com/CLDA-Biblio.htm (accessed May 2014).

for the use of comparative corpus-based — or even corpus-driven — discourse analysis” (Moschonas & Spitzmulle 2010: 18) within language ideology research.

The research employing cross-linguistic CADS tends to fall into three categories. In the first, the researcher focuses very explicitly on the language differences (and similarities). For instance, Murphy (2005) studies lexico-grammatical markers of attribution or reporting in two comparable corpora of English and Italian opinion articles. In this case, the focus is very much on the language itself in the comparison of genre conventions and the paper constitutes a type of comparative study which has very practical implications such as in translation work (see, for instance, Lorés Sanz (2011) and Williams (2010) which focus more explicitly on the translation and pedagogic implications). An associated type of study is that of comparative cultural keyword or discourse keyword studies, where the study takes a more lexicological approach to uncover how particular words/phrases are used across cultures/languages, for example Storjohann & Schröter (2013) and Schröter & Storjohann’s (forthcoming) study of *financial crisis* and *Wirtschaftskrise* in the German and UK press, or Murphy’s (2011) comparison of *humanitarian* and *umanitario* in contemporary Italian and British English.

In the second type of study, the comparative interest is largely cultural and the research is cross-linguistic out of necessity; the fact that the corpora are in different languages is almost irrelevant. For instance, Moschonas & Spitzmulle (2010), mentioned above, analyse a corpus of 160 articles referring to media language in Greek and German newspapers in order to compare the construction of language ideologies in these two cultures. The present paper would also fall into this second category.

In the third type of cross-linguistic CADS, there is no explicit comparative drive. For instance, Freake et al. (2011) investigate the discursive construction of nationhood and belonging in Quebec through the analysis of a corpus of public consultation briefs submitted to the Bouchard Taylor Commission. The briefs were originally submitted in two languages and the resulting corpus contained 2.7 million tokens, of which 95% were in French and 5% in English. Therefore, the analysis of texts in both languages was necessary as a means of aiming for “completeness” and to exclude one of those languages would have meant excluding a set of voices.

The analysis of two or more languages does, however, bring a range of additional challenges. First, whenever we build our own specialised corpora using search terms, or when we need to choose comparable search terms for collocation analysis, the primary consideration will be how to identify such comparable items in the different languages. As Tognini-Bonelli & Manca (2004) state:

to translate means (1) to identify a specific function together with its formal realisations in L1, (2) to compare it with another set (function + formal realisation), or other sets, in L2 and finally, in the light of the previous stage, (3) to attempt to encode the given function into a chosen formal realisation in the target language.

(Tognini-Bonelli & Manca 2004: 371)

Identifying functional equivalence for search terms therefore involves looking at meanings and meanings in context (see, for instance, Taylor 2009 for a description of the two-step process of identifying the Italian equivalents for the RASIM terms used here). Another important consideration in identifying functional equivalence is the evaluative value of the terms in each language, in other words, their semantic prosody, (also referred to as ‘evaluative prosody’, Morley & Partington 2009). Two or more items cannot be considered translation equivalents if they have contrasting semantic prosodies, and differences across languages have been documented in a range of studies (see, for instance Xiao & McEnery (2006) on English and Chinese, Stewart (2009) on English and Italian, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1996) on English and Polish, Berber-Sardinha (2000) on English and Portuguese, Munday (2011) on English and Spanish).

Second, another translation-related challenge is the choice of how to report the findings. This is naturally not a new question, particularly for researchers who do not carry out their research on English or a similarly dominant language but it is a question that we always have to consider in cross-linguistic research. When providing translations, should we try and provide a literal translation or a functional translation or something in-between? By way of example, in examining constructions of racism in the UK and Italian press (Partington et al. 2013) a salient collocate of *razzismo* (“racism”) that emerged was *strisciante* — a literal translation might be “creeping” or “crawling” while a more functional translation would perhaps be “underlying” or “covert”. The choice of the latter would alter the metaphoricality of the original but the choice of the former would be less easily understood by the English-speaking reader. Another limitation in the presentation of translated data is the use of KWIC style concordance lines which are central to illustrating language patterns. If translated, the pattern could be lost as the translation of the node and also the word order might not be the same in each of the translated lines.

Third, there are also issues relating to cross-cultural variation. For instance, in this case-study I am examining newspaper discourse, but newspapers in Italy and in the UK are different in many respects. Fourth, when interpreting our data, as Vessey (2013) emphasises, we need to be wary of attributing differences between corpora to the language variable when they could have been affected by a number of other variables, not least the extent of comparability between the different lan-

guage corpora. Similarly, she notes that we should be careful not to assume that each language corpus is a homogenous entity.

Fifth, Freake et al. (2011) and Vessey (2013) also note some methodological difficulties relating to the use of keyword analysis. First of all, the keywords cannot be compared directly if they are in different languages. Second, “when a word has a different keyness from its translation in another language, it is difficult to assess whether this is due to significant differences between the focus corpora or differences between the reference corpora” (Freake et al. 2011: 30). To address this, they suggest that rather than comparing keyness values, a more useful and valid indicator is the comparison of relative rank orders of keywords. However, given that the rank order is also dependent on frequency in the reference corpus, this in turn raises some issues; as Scott (2010: 52) notes, keywords are statistically arrived at but are not fully and completely established and as such “it is not certain that the order of the items in the set reflects their importance” (Scott 2010: 51).⁴

3. Corpora and methodology

In this section the construction of the corpus and the methods of analysis are described. The procedures are made as transparent, and therefore replicable, as possible on the basis that ‘replicability’ is the cornerstone of sound research first, because it allows for falsification, and, second, on a practical level, because it is a feasible objective which we can all achieve (unlike, for instance, ‘objectivity’, which we can strive for but cannot be entirely confident of having achieved). Furthermore, the transparent presentation of research processes allows for accurate ‘para-replication’ (Partington 2009: 293–294), which enables extension of the research. For instance, in the context of this paper, further para-replication across a wider range of cultures/time periods would be particularly welcomed.

3.1 Corpora

Two sets of corpora were created for this investigation: the first containing articles from Italian newspapers and the second from British newspapers. Newspapers were chosen for practical purposes and as recognition of their cultural importance. Although print sales are in decline, the influence of newspapers in the national sphere is still highly significant (see Baker et al. 2013 for more discussion of this). Both British and Italian newspapers were downloaded from *Nexis UK*

4. I am very grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out the difficulties with this procedure.

and were chosen according to their availability on the database. This helps fulfil the criteria of replicability, as Stubbs (2002: 123) says “[a]n essential feature of computer-assisted text and corpus linguistics is that both *data* and *methods* are publicly accessible” (my italics). However, it is also an imperfect selection process, because unfortunately it means that *La Repubblica*, which is a high circulation newspaper, was omitted and nor is there an overtly right-wing Italian newspaper. For this reason, the findings here cannot be taken as representative of all Italian national newspapers; they represent centre-left and centre-right orientations.

The newspapers were divided into four categories (listed in order of circulation):

- i. UK broadsheets: *Telegraph*, *Times*, *Guardian*, *Independent*;
- ii. UK tabloids: *Sun*, *Mirror*, *Daily Star*, *Express*, *Daily Mail*;
- iii. Italian national newspapers: *Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*;
- iv. Italian regional/local newspapers: *Il Resto del Carlino*, *La Nazione*, *Il Giorno*.⁵

As can be seen, the categories of newspaper are not parallel; the tabloids are culturally of enormous significance in the UK context, but do not exist in the Italian press. A more salient distinction in Italy is between national and local/regional newspapers (although the national newspapers do not come from a single city either as in the UK) and the target readership of the Italian regionals is here considered comparable with that of the UK tabloids. The time range for both corpora was limited to 2009 for comparability with the latest population figures available. The English language corpora were built using the search terms *refugee**, *asylum seeker**, *immigrant** and *migrant** (henceforth RASIM), and the Italian corpora were built using the search terms *immigrat** (“immigrant”), *clandestin** (“illegal immigrant”, but also “clandestine” which creates some noise), *extracomunitar** (“non-EU”) and *stranier** (“foreign”, “foreigner”) (henceforth ICES). These search

Table 3. Summary of corpus size

	tokens	articles	av. article length
Italian national newspapers	4,459,334	6,958	641
Italian regional newspapers	10,880,021	25,286	430
Sub-total (Italian)	15,339,355	32,244	
UK broadsheet newspapers	3,979,302	5,208	764
UK tabloid newspapers	1,406,462	4,534	310
Sub-total (UK)	5,385,764	9,742	

5. The three regional newspapers overlap considerably as they have the same editor and carry many of the same articles.

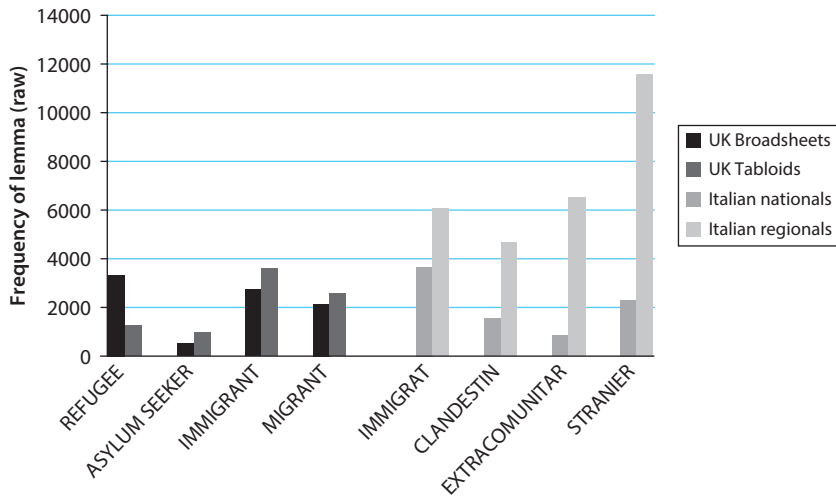


Figure 1. Frequency of RASIM/ICES terms in the sub-corpora

terms were chosen based on Taylor's (2009) analysis of functional equivalents. The sizes of the sub-corpora can be seen in Table 3 which includes size measured in terms of tokens and number of articles. As an initial measure of the level of interest, the number of articles is considered a better indicator because of the differences in standard article length in the different newspaper types (also included in Table 3 for reference).

Figure 1 shows distribution of the RASIM/ICES terms, and as can be seen there was considerable variation in the choice of terms and, as would be expected from the data in Table 3, the UK tabloids and Italian regionals used all terms more frequently. The only exception to this is the discussion of *refugees* which is more frequent in the UK broadsheets, but this is largely because it is used to refer to migrants who are not in or approaching the UK (discussed in Section 4).

3.2 Methodology

The corpora were analysed using *Wordsmith Tools 5* (Scott 2008) and *Sketch Engine* (Kilgariff et al. 2004). For consistency, in all cases collocational strength was measured using the *Sketch Engine* software with the logDice statistic (minimum frequency 5). *WordSmith Tools* was mainly used for sorting and categorising concordances because it allows the analyst to assign values to lines and to move easily from concordance to text.

3.2.1 Procedures for identifying salient geographical identities

In the first phase, the geographical identities which collocated most frequently with the English terms *refugee**, *asylum seeker**, *immigrant** and *migrant** (RASIM) and the Italian terms *immigrat**, *clandestin**, *extracomunitar** and *stranier** (ICES) were identified. The rather vague term ‘geographical identities’ is used because the newspapers themselves tend to group and amalgamate national identities, for instance referring to *Africans* and *East Europeans* and I wanted to reflect rather than hide this naming strategy. Two separate identification measures were used as a form of triangulation, as described below, and the results are reported in Section 4.

In the first approach, collocates were analysed across a 10:10 span and all those which referred to geographical areas were identified and terms referring to the same country were grouped.⁶ So, where ‘Poland’, for instance, is listed this refers to all co-occurrences of RASIM terms with *Poland*, *Polish*, *Pole*, or *Poles*. In order to calculate the collocates in the Italian data, the POS-tagged corpus in *Sketch Engine* was used to enable the removal of noise deriving from the fact that terms like *clandestin** are also used in an adjectival form, for instance in *scommesse clandestine* (“illegal/unauthorised betting”). Another methodological issue for the Italian data was that several articles are shared across the regional newspapers and therefore, the figures given in Section 4 only refer to unique occurrences. So, for instance, if the same article appeared in all three regional newspapers, it was only counted once here. This collocation data was then compared to population statistics to identify nationalities which seem to receive a disproportionate amount of media attention, and so salience is measured in terms of the extent of mismatch. A more traditional corpus linguistic measure of salience could be the strength of collocation with the RASIM and ICES terms and these were also calculated, measured by logDice using *Sketch Engine* and are shown in Section 4.

3.2.2 Procedures for investigating salient geographical identities

The main sources which are drawn on for the second, discourse analytic part of the study are Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics for transitivity analysis, described by Fowler (1991:71) as “the foundation of representation”, and the moral panic frame as set out by Cohen (1972) and adapted more specifically for linguistic analysis by McNery (2005) and also used in Maneri (2001) to interpret Italian migration discourse.

In the transitivity analysis, each concordance line was manually categorised so that the different naming choices could all be accounted for, e.g. *Afghan*, *refugees*

6. The span of 10:10 was used following Taylor (2009) because I was not only interested in instances where the nationality was in the same noun phrase as a RASIM/ICES term. Example (11) illustrates the importance of the wider span

from Afghanistan, they and so on. Where patterns were detected, the analysis was then extended into a more fine-grained approach and they were subsequently placed within the moral panic frame to test whether there was indeed a moral panic regarding that particular group. Drawing on previous research and his own qualitative observations, McEnery (2005) develops a set of roles in moral panic discourse for the analysis of the phenomenon which are then tested against a range of texts. In addition to six discourse roles, McEnery (2005) includes a seventh category relating to the language of moral panic discourse. These roles/categories are:

- i. 'Object of offence', that which is identified as problematic;
- ii. 'Scapegoat', that which is the cause of, or which propagates the cause of, offence;
- iii. 'Moral entrepreneur', the person/group campaigning against the object of offence;
- iv. 'Consequence', the negative results which it is claimed will follow from a failure to eliminate the object of offence;
- v. 'Corrective action', the actions to be taken to eliminate the object of offence;
- vi. 'Desired outcome', the positive results which will follow from the elimination of the object of offence;
- vii. 'Rhetoric', register marked by a strong reliance on evaluative lexis that is polar and extreme.

(adapted from McEnery 2005: 6–7)

In this paper, these categories are used to structure the analysis of the groups which were identified as being foregrounded in the first phase of analysis. The aim is to identify any patterns of representation where a geographical identity fills the role of 'scapegoat' in the moral panic roles. Therefore, the focus is on instances which represent the various geographical identities as either being within or approaching the newspapers' country (UK or Italy). This stage of analysis is one of hypothesis testing which means that the focus is on the presence/absence of negative elements of representation. That is not to exclude or ignore the possibility of positive representations, which would be a highly relevant extension as a way of investigating alternative, co-existing, discourses, but such an investigation falls outside the scope of this paper.⁷

7. There are also methodological difficulties given that the search for positive representation in this case would include involving searching for absence because acceptance and non-markedness would presumably mean that the geographical identity would no longer be a highly salient identity feature in this discourse.

Table 4. Comparison of ranking of nationalities present in the UK and (geographical) identities with a high visibility in the press in 2009⁸

Population resident in UK, 2009–2010		% change	Co-occurring identities: Broadsheets	Co-occurring identities: Tabloids	
Poland	541,000	+10	France	272	Ireland 267
Rep. of Ireland	342,000	–1	Palestine	217	France 230
India	322,000	+12	Afghanistan	165	Africa 114
Pakistan	165,000	–10	Africa	163	Poland 111
USA	150,000	+15	USA	160	Eastern Europe 109
France	122,000	–1	Italy	156	Afghanistan 89
Germany	116,000	+23	Iraq	151	China 78
China	104,000	+18	China	136	Iraq 75
Italy	104,000	+3	Pakistan	130	Italy 65
South Africa	101,000	0	Poland	122	USA 64
Nigeria	97,000	+10	Eastern Europe	109	Germany 58
Portugal	95,000	+7	Germany	108	Romania 49
Lithuania	88,000	+52	Tamil	107	Nigeria 47
Australia	77,000	–9	Ireland	92	Pakistan 45

4. Geographical identities associated with RASIM terms and ICES terms: Frequencies

Salience was measured first with reference to extra-corpus data and subsequently through collocational strength. Table 4 shows the fifteen geographical identities which collocate most frequently with RASIM terms in the UK newspapers alongside the statistics reporting the estimated population in the UK by foreign nationality. Information about the percentage change in the number of foreign nationals from 2008–2009 is also included because any notable change within the year of study would be likely to affect the newsworthiness. Naturally, not all of the references to nationalities in association with RASIM/ICES terms refer to the presence of those nationalities in the UK or Italy. In the UK broadsheets in particular there is considerable interest in reporting on migration movements elsewhere and this will be taken into consideration in the discussion below. However, this rather rough measure does provide a systematic and replicable starting point for selecting nationalities/identities for analysis.

8. The numbers in the first column relate to figures from July 2009–June 2010. The percentage change related to increases/decreases in the previous year, so from 2008.

In Table 4, the countries and/or identities which are marked in bold are those which receive more or less attention than might be expected based on a presumed correlation between the number of people from a given country and their visibility in the media. So, for instance, Portugal is one of the most numerous groups in terms of population (first column) but people from Portugal are not highly visible in the press (second and third columns). There are therefore groups that have been foregrounded or backgrounded for reasons other than simple population numbers.

From the list of nationalities in the left-hand column, it is apparent that South Africa, Portugal and Lithuania are somewhat under-represented in both the broadsheets and the tabloids and Nigeria ranked very low in the broadsheets. Lithuania ranked 17th on the tabloid scale and therefore is not exceptional, but the others ranked much lower, in particular Portugal. Australia just fell outside the cut off for the broadsheets, as did India in the tabloids and therefore is not considered. It is also interesting to observe that although migrants from India form one of the largest groups in the UK, the ranking is relatively low. A possible interpretation for such under-representation lies in the steady and continuous history of migration from particular countries, but the reasons for the absence require analysis that goes outside the corpus (as illustrated with reference to the Italian data below).

Moving on to those nationalities which seem to be foregrounded in the press, the first in the broadsheet list is Palestine, most frequently in the form *Palestinian refugees* (66% of occurrences) and referring to situations outside the UK which explains the mismatch in UK population figures and newsworthiness. The same applies to *Tamil**, which also most frequently occurred with the term *refugees* (40% of occurrences). This would also suggest that *refugee** is not actually a productive search term when looking for references to migrants within/approaching the UK. In contrast, although only 25% of references to Afghanistan clearly referred to people in the UK, an additional 30% of instances reported on the situation in France which is presented as having an impact on the UK because the migrants are described as waiting to enter the UK. Therefore, this group will be discussed in Section 5. The same applies to Iraq. With reference to the tabloid data, as seen in Table 4, the identities which seem to have a greater visibility than might be expected are Afghanistan, Iraq, and Romania. For reasons of space, just the first of these will be discussed in this paper. In both newspaper types, Eastern Europe and Africa feature frequently in the newspaper discussion even though there is only one Eastern European country and two African countries in the population list.

Table 5 shows the relative rankings of the most populous foreign nationalities in Italy alongside the visibility of various nationalities or geographical identities in the press. As in Table 4 which showed the English data, the items marked in bold are those which appear to be over/under-represented in the newspapers in this corpus.

Table 5. Comparison of ranking of nationalities present in Italy and (geographical) identities with a high visibility in the press in 2009

Population resident in Italy, 2009	% change	Co-occurring identities: national newspapers	Co-occurring identities: regional newspapers
Romania	796,477 +27	UK/GB/England	62 Morocco 410
Albania	441,396 +10	Romania	58 China 382
Morocco	403,592 +10	Africa/North Africa	54 Albania 238
China	170,265 +9	Eastern Europe	48 Tunisia 238
Ukraine	153,998 +16	France	46 Eastern Europe 212
Philippines	113,686 +8	Morocco	40 Romania 189
Tunisia	100,112 +7	China	35 Africa/North Africa 174
Poland	99,389 +10	Egypt	34 Senegal 161
India	91,855 +19	Tunisia	28 Egypt 131
Moldova	89,424 +30	Libya	26 UK/GB/England 96
Macedonia	89,066 +14	India	23 Germany 90
Ecuador	80,070 +9	Rom ⁹	21 Nigeria 79
Peru	77,629 +10	Somalia	21 Pakistan 76
Egypt	74,599 +7	Eritrea	20 Rom* 68
Sri Lanka	68,738 n.a.	Albania	19 France 61

From the list of nationalities, we can see that people from Ukraine, Philippines, Poland, Moldova, Macedonia, Ecuador, Peru, Sri Lanka, and Senegal are discussed less frequently in the Italian press than might be expected. In looking for an explanation for absence, we need to look outside the corpus and in this regard it is interesting to note that according to the social research foundation Censis (“Dare Casa alla Sicurezza”, 2010) the nationalities which are most frequently involved in domestic work are: Romanian, (19.4% of the total domestic workforce in 2009–2010), Ukrainian (10.4%), Philippine (9%) Polish (7.7%) and Moldavian (6.2%). Thus, we may hypothesise a relationship between the domestic, controlled sphere in which these nationalities tend to work and the lack of newsworthiness in the press (one possible exception is Romanian, to which I will return below). Another factor may be the frequent use of the more general reference to *East European*.

In contrast, if we look at the data which reports on the nationalities with the largest number of business owners, according to Censis (“Rapporto Sopemi”, 2010),

9. *Rom* (“Roma”, “Romany gypsies”) is included here because it is frequently used as a geographical marker of identity. The inclusion in no way condones such uses, it serves to highlight the discursive practice.

the nationalities are, in order: Moroccan, Romanian, Chinese, Albanian, Swiss, Senegalese, German, Tunisian, Bangladeshi, Egyptian, Serbian and Montenegrin, French, Nigerian, and Pakistani. If we refer back to Table 5, it is clear that this second list matches very closely the list of newsworthy identities in the Italian regional newspapers.

The newsworthy identities which appear to attract more attention than might be anticipated from numbers of residents alone included a high frequency of discussion of the UK (grouped together with Great Britain and England because they are frequently conflated in these newspapers, reflecting Italian practice for *inglese* (“English”) to stand for British, and France in both newspaper types but since these frequently occurred in discussion of the policies towards migrants in those countries they are not included in the analysis below. There was also foregrounding of Libya, Somalia, and Eritrea in the national Italian newspapers and Nigeria and Pakistan in the Italian regionals and these are all eligible for analysis in terms

Table 6. Most salient geographical markers in the UK press

	<i>Refugee</i>		<i>Asylum seeker</i>		<i>Immigrant</i>		<i>Migrant</i>	
UK broadsheets	Palestinian	12.38	Iraqi	3.31	York	9.17	Calais	10.51
	Tamil	9.80	Iraq	3.14	New	9.05	Europe	9.16
	Pakistan	8.21	Baghdad	2.82	Europe	8.82	European	8.94
	Sri	8.09	Calais	2.81	Polish	8.76	EU	8.79
	Gaza	8.14	Congo	2.44	Russian	8.64	Jungle	8.74
	Iraqi	6.895	Zimbabwean	2.23	Italian	8.53	French	8.69
	Lanka	7.01	Malta	2.0	Indian	8.47	Libya	8.61
	Israel	7.15	EU	2.97	European	8.37	Italy	8.57
	Afghan	6.12	Zimbabwe	2.22	Ivory	8.27	France	8.56
	Jerusalem	5.70	Somali	1.99	African	8.27	Eastern	8.42
UK tabloids	Calais	9.55	Calais	9.14	Calais	9.33	Calais	11.03
	Sangatte	9.52	Afghan	8.83	Irish	9.268	French	9.74
	EU	9.23	Afghanistan	8.31	Ireland	9.19	France	9.54
	Palestinian	8.97	Ireland	8.24	France	8.81	Jungle	9.21
	Chad	8.87	France	8.12	Chinese	8.41	Europe	9.19
	Sudan	8.80	Nigerian	7.89	French	8.37	EU	9.13
	Afghan	8.79	EU	7.73	Europe	8.24	Channel	8.99
	Jungle	8.72	Iraq	7.70	Polish	8.11	European	8.68
	Darfur	8.68	Somalian	7.57	Eastern	8.08	non-EU	8.62
	Bosnian	8.36	Iraqi	7.46	US	8.01	Afghan	8.40

Table 7. Most salient geographical markers in the Italian press

<i>immigrant*</i>	<i>clandestin*</i>	<i>extracomunitar*</i>	<i>stranier*</i>	
Libia ("Libya")	8.02	Libia ("Libya")	9.14	Libia ("Libya")
Europa ("Europe")	7.82	Calais	8.56	marocchini ("Moroccan")
romeni ("Romanians")	7.53	Manica ("Channel")	8.56	Nord ("North")
Africa	7.53	Ue ("EU")	7.70	somali ("Somalians")
africani ("africans")	7.45	Europa ("Europe")	7.53	egiziani ("Egyptians")
cinesi ("Chinese")	7.08	Malta	7.46	eritrei ("Eritreans")
Francia ("France")	7.00	Spagna ("Spain")	7.11	africani ("Africans")
indiani ("Indians")	6.99	egiziano ("Egyptian")	7.02	Malta
Sud ("South")	6.96	marocchino ("Moroccan")	7.00	Europa ("Europe")
America	6.95	Africa	6.94	Ue ("EU")
marocchino ("Moroccan")	7.80	cinesi ("Chinese")	9.27	marocchino ("Moroccan")
Libia ("Libya")	7.59	marocchino ("Moroccan")	8.68	cinesi ("Chinese")
cinesi ("Chinese")	7.4	tunisino ("Tunisian")	8.59	marocchini ("Moroccans")
marocchini ("Moroccans")	7.26	tunisini ("Tunisians")	7.98	senegalesi ("Sengalese")
senegalese ("Sengalese")	7.13	Malta	7.87	marocchina ("Moroccan", f.)
Africa	7.10	albanese ("Albanian")	7.87	rom ("Roma")
Europa ("Europe")	6.81	cinese ("Chinese")	7.83	europei ("Europeans")
Nord ("North")	6.79	europei ("Europeans")	6.95	zingari ("gypsies")
Est ("East")	6.78	Libia ("Libya")	7.68	albanesi ("Albanians")
sud ("south")	6.77	nordafricani ("N. Africans")	7.19	albanese ("Albanian")

of moral panics. For reasons of space, only the first, Nigeria, will be discussed here. In a similar way to the UK newspapers discussed above, the Italian press tends to group nationalities and favour vaguer terms, therefore there are items like *africa** and *nordafrika** (“North Africa*”) appearing alongside a range of terms referring to Eastern Europe.

The term *rom* (“roma”, “Romany gypsy”) was also very frequent and has been included here not to legitimise the strategy of portraying this group as a geographical identity but to highlight this type of presentation. It would be particularly interesting to explore the representation of this group in different languages/cultures in future work (see, for example, Costi 2010, Woodcock 2010, Madroane 2012 for more on recent treatment and representation).

As discussed in Section 3, salience was also measured by strength of collocation with the RASIM and ICES terms and these are shown in Tables 6 and 7. The tables display the ten most salient collocates and also include a greater level of detail by noting which identities collocated most strongly with which particular RASIM or ICES term. To aid reading of the table, the identities which were previously marked as salient have been highlighted.

We can see that there is considerable overlap with the identities identified in Section 3.2 for the British newspapers, but this relationship becomes much weaker in the Italian regional newspapers where neither Nigeria nor Pakistan occur and the salient nationalities tend to be North African. One reason for not relying solely on the collocational measure of salience is that they cannot allow us to simultaneously identify the absent or “backgrounded” groups. However, identifying two distinct ways of calculating salience allows for some triangulation of the procedures.

5. Moral panics and migrants

In the next stage, collocation analysis and discourse analysis function as the starting point for interpretation of the data, which was analysed according to the transitivity patterns and naming strategies and then assessed within the moral panic frame, as discussed in Section 3.2.2. These tools are used in preference to close reading techniques in order to increase the systematicity and therefore replicability of the language analysis.

5.1 UK broadsheets: Afghanistan, Iraq

In the 165 instances where references to *afghan** co-occurred with REFUGEE/ASYLUM/SEEKER/IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT, 84 referred clearly to people who were being portrayed as from Afghanistan. The occurrences were divided almost equally

between those in which the participants in the clause were ‘actor’ in a material process (33%), ‘carrier’ in a relational process (35%), or ‘goal’ in a material process (27%). If we look at the material processes for any evidence of a moral panic construction, the only possible ‘objects of offence’ could be the intention of migrating to the UK and the creation of the camps (each process is only listed once):

Movement to UK: *leave their war-torn homeland seeking a better life in the West; trying to reach the UK; seek a better life in the UK; coming to Britain; risk their lives by trying to jump aboard lorries bound for Britain;*

Living in camp: *living in the Jungle; roasting a lamb; sleep together; sleep rough; queue for food; calculating when it would be possible to return to the camp; created a refugee camp; set up a camp; live in squalid conditions; used the camp; occupy a camp; hanging around;*

Other: *received pounds 170,000 a year; fled; converted to Christianity.*

Approximately half of the material processes in which the participants are goals refer to repatriation, as seen in the occurrences listed below, and this could be interpreted as the ‘corrective action’ in the moral panic frame.

Acted on by UK institutions: *led away in handcuffs; clamped down on; detained deported; round up and fly back; returned; flown home; sent back; repatriate; fly back; granted “exceptional leave to remain”;*

Other: *murdered; paid just 3 pounds an hour; found in a lorry; forced to find alternative accommodation.*

It is also noticeable that the remaining processes show the Afghan migrants as recipients of unfavourable actions which also reduces any potential ‘threat’ that they could pose as ‘scapegoats’. Further analysis of the occurrences found little to support a moral panic interpretation of the representation of Afghans because the other moral panic roles, such as ‘consequence’ or ‘corrective action’, are largely blank.

The references to Iraqi migrants showed a high concentration towards October 2009 (48% of all instances in 2009) and this was due to the first deportation since 2003 of failed Iraqi asylum seekers. In many ways, the reporting was similar to that described above of Afghan migrants, and indeed they also co-occurred (IRAQI was the second most salient 5:5 collocate of AFGHAN and vice-versa), often with reference to the refugee camps in France. Using the Thesaurus function in *Sketch Engine*, the nouns which occurred in the most similar co-texts to IRAQI were: *Pakistani, Eritrean, Tamil, Pakistani, villager, Kurd, asylum-seeker, Gazan, return-ee, boyfriend, Afghan, and Somali.*

Processes for which Iraqi migrants were actors were: *used the camp, living in exile, knocked down a 12-year old girl, return to Iraq, been living in squalid conditions,*

living abroad, lived in Britain for decades, returned to their homeland, created a refugee camp, sheltered, sleep rough. These show some negative representations but they are a small number and the ratio of processes in which Iraqi migrants were actors (17%) or goals (56%) was different from that for Afghan migrants, thus increasing the representation of this group as being acted upon and therefore under control and non-threatening to the society in which the texts were produced.

In conclusion, where these “high-interest” geographical identities are discussed in relation to the UK in the 2009 broadsheet newspapers there seems to be a tendency to focus on people leaving the UK, whether by choice or by force. There is some negativity in the reporting, but there is no evidence of a moral panic surrounding their presence in the UK.

5.2 UK tabloids: Afghanistan

Of the occurrences referring to Afghan migrants in the tabloid press, approximately 8% referred to situations outside Europe, 28% to the closing of a camp in France while the largest proportion, about 60%, referred directly to the UK. This is clearly a different representation from that in the broadsheets discussed above. The most statistically significant collocates of *afghan** in the co-text of RASIM terms are shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Most significant collocates of *afghan** in the co-text of RASIM terms

Collocate	Freq.	LogDice	Collocate	Freq.	LogDice
mainly	15	10.617	Taliban	5	8.65
Iraqi	11	10.377	taxpayers	5	8.152
Iraq	16	10.293	illegal	15	7.93
Toorpakai	5	9.83	arrested	5	7.834
Eritrea	5	9.752	took	5	7.528
AN	10	9.66	came	6	7.316
fly	5	9.193	Calais	5	7.181
fled	5	8.794			

Items such as *illegal* and *arrested* also indicate a less favourable evaluation than that in the broadsheets. The instances of *illegal* all premodified IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT as illustrated in Example (1)

- (1) HOW DARE THOSE SMIRKIN *ILLEGAL AFGHAN IMMIGRANTS* IN CALAIS WEAR ENGLAND SHIRTS WHEN OUR BOYS ARE GETTIN BLOWN2BITS 2 MAKIN THEIR COUNTRY SAFE. SENDEM BAC. *BRIT BORN AN BRED BLACKGIRL* (*Daily Star*, Text Maniacs)

Example (1) illustrates the strategy of attribution, in the sense of Sinclair (1988), in that the proposition is presented as deriving from some other source (see also Lynn & Lea 2003 and Richardson 2001 for more on the use of readers' texts) and used to express overt negative evaluations without censure. In this instance, the text that has been selected for publication anticipates and resists being considered racist, through the reference to *BRIT BORN AN BRED BLACKGIRL*, in a way that is similar to the strategies found in discussion of *racist/racism* in the same newspapers (discussed in Partington et al. 2013).

As indicated by *Calais* in Table 8, a dominant context was stories about French/British deportation plans in which the primary target of evaluation is the government rather than the migrants, as shown in Example (2).

- (2) A FLIGHT paid for by British and French taxpayers is set to fly to *Afghanistan* today carrying *illegal migrants* arrested around Calais. Many on board the plane from Paris to Kabul get £1,900 and a "guarantee" of retraining in their homeland. (*Sun*)

Where *Afghan* was the pre-modifier in the tabloid corpus, even where it referred to seemingly neutral/positive items such as *family* (three occurrences) or *mum* (one occurrence), the evaluation was unfavourable, and related a narrative of exploitation of the 'host' society as illustrated in Example (3).

- (3) A £1.2MILLION mansion a *migrant Afghan mum* shares with her seven kids was raided by customs officers yesterday. (*Sun*)

Similar patterns were seen with the more familiar tabloid target, *single mothers*, as shown in Example (4).

- (4) It is a moral outrage that Britons in work have to fork out for the housing benefits of *Afghan single mothers* or the legal aid of Somalian asylum seekers. (*Express*, editorial)

In Example (4), where Afghans are genericised, the reference to *moral outrage* makes the existence of a moral panic in the *Express* very clear; the 'object of offence' is the availability of British services to migrants and in particular the focus is on cost to the "taxpayer". This pattern of reference to costs, with the implicit assumption that the 'desired outcome' or positive result of elimination of the object of offence is a better financial/economic situation for the reader, was also visible in the co-occurrences with *taxpayer*, another salient collocate shown in Table 8, and illustrated in Figure 2.¹⁰

10. Figure 2 shows all co-occurrences, not only those in the co-text of RASIM.

N Concordance

1 at the *tax-payers'* expense while our brave soldiers in *Afghanistan* live with basic equipment and our pensioners
 2 ." Last night it emerged Brit *taxpayers* may pay to deport *Afghan* immigrants from FRANCE. More than 1,000
 3 flight paid for by British and French *taxpayers* is to fly to *Afghanistan* today full of illegal immigrants arrested around
 4 who started a new life in Scotland at *taxpayers'* expense. *Afghan* asylum seeker Dawalat Khan Nasir, 34, was
 5 paid for by British and French *taxpayers* is set to fly to *Afghanistan* today carrying around 250 illegal migrants
 6 mug British *taxpayer*. That's exactly what happened. The *Afghans* took their place among a motley crew of foreign
 7 CHARTER flight paid for by British *taxpayers* was flying to *Afghanistan* today full of illegal migrants arrested around
 8 who started a new life in Scotland at *taxpayers'* expense. *Afghan* asylum seeker Dawalat Khan Nasir, 34, was
 9 Saturday U.K. 1st Edition *Taxpayers* foot GBP 170,000 *Afghan* bill BYLINE: By Natalie Fahy SECTION: NEWS; 5
 10 NEWS; 5 THE *taxpayer* shells out GBP 170,000 a year for *Afghan* migrant Toorpakai Saindi to live in a GBP 1.
 11 to sneak into the UK from France could be flown home to *Afghanistan* under a secret plan costing British *taxpayers*

Figure 2. Sample concordance lines showing 10:10 co-occurrence of *Afghan** and *taxpayer**

Other rhetorical intensifications were seen through the use of metaphor, as in Example (5), which continues the same frame.

- (5) The banners expose how Britain's open-door asylum system and benefits culture are a magnet for *Afghans*, Kurds and Eritreans. (*Express*)

This is part of a general metaphorical representation surrounding migrants, the cluster *a magnet for* occurred 39 times in the tabloid sub-corpus, 36 times in the pattern *a magnet for* + RASIM terms (25.60 pmw), as illustrated in the sample concordance lines in Figure 3.

N Concordance

1 Party, said the new mini centres would act as a *magnet for asylum* seekers trying to get into Britain.
 2 Sweden, a "playground for adults" that has become a *magnet for fans* of new age therapy. Here you can
 3 to any sort of reception centre which might act as a *magnet for illegal* immigrants, traffickers and
 4 Red Cross refugee centre near Calais acted as a *magnet for illegal* migrants, before being shut down.
 5 shut under pressure from Britain, which saw it as a *magnet for illegal* immigrants. GRAPHIC: WAITING
 6 was just the tip of the iceberg, calling the coach a '*magnet for illegals*' trying to sneak into the UK. The
 7 joined the EU in 2004. In London, traditionally a *magnet for immigrants*, one in three residents was
 8 and Intelligence Unit, warned: 'Britain is becoming a *magnet for increasing* numbers of criminals from the
 9 hoping for a new life here. Steenvoorde has become a *magnet for mainly* African migrants. Last night there
 10 crisis is like 'the worst days of Sangatte', which was a *magnet for migrants*. A spokesman for the French
 11 despite concern that any large facility will act as a *magnet for more* migrants. Immigration Minister Phil
 12 UK-bound lorries. Border guards say it has become a *magnet for refugees*. France's Immigration Minister
 13 U.K. 1st Edition Overgenerous benefits system a *magnet for UK* SECTION: LETTERS; 64 MIGRANTS
 14 waited to get across the Channel and was seen as a *magnet for wouldbe* illegal immigrants. However, the

Figure 3. Sample concordance lines of *a magnet for* (every third occurrence)

It was also interesting to note that several of these were similar because approximately half (20 instances) were attribution and the sources were presented as being authoritative such as: a detective from Scotland Yard, an officer from the Met extradition Unit, the UKIP leader, *border guards*, *Britain*, *leading French politicians*. This adds to the persuasive force of the rhetoric deployed. In terms of the prosody, the unfavourable evaluation is also indicated by the other three items

which occurred with the pattern: *killers and gangsters, conmen and fans of new age therapy* (this last is clearly weaker but the negative stance is made explicit in the article which describes such people as *infinitely strange* and *ridiculous*). The pattern of *a magnet for* + RASIM term was also found in the broadsheets, though less frequently (10 instances, 2.51 pmw).

A similar pattern was also seen in the tabloid use of *honeypot*, as illustrated in Figure 4 (not found in the broadsheets).

N Concordance

- 1 Britain has been foolish enough to turn itself into a *honeypot* too *attractive* to ignore. The incompetence
- 2 have not even got into Britain would turn Calais into a *honeypot* for *bogus* asylum seekers." And UKIP
- 3 controls will remain feeble and our welfare system a *honeypot* for *migrants*. Only last weekend it emerged
- 4 to Government laxity and EU rules, it has become a *honeypot* tempting *people* to take advantage of the
- 5 impact on our own country of our society becoming a *honeypot* for *terrorists* and murderers, simply
- 6 many flock to Calais, desperate to reach the welfare *honeypot* across *the* Channel. Other European
- 7 No wonder children's societies have described it as a *honeypot* for *those* with bad intentions towards

Figure 4. Concordance lines for *honeypot*

These usages impersonalise the people under discussion through the application of a metaphorical frame which depicts them as non-human. Simultaneously, they negatively evaluate government policy which is presented as being responsible for attracting the migrants — as the migrants are depicted as non-human they are consequently not presented as being sentient/having intentions. It is also interesting to note that these phrases did not occur in the *Mirror*. This opens an additional area for exploration and also raises the issue of treating newspapers, in this case tabloids, as a homogeneous group.

There were other 'objects of offence' for which Afghan migrants were identified as being responsible including sexual assault (eight news stories). These references to violence were a less dominant theme than that above, but contribute to the general representation of threat and in some cases were combined with more macro-level immigration stories, as in Examples (6) and (7).

- (6) A London journalist was raped by an *Afghan refugee* last year after visiting the camp to write a story. Last night the Home Office said it was working with France to crack down on illegal immigration. (*Express*)
- (7) A YOUNG mother pushing her child in a pram has been sexually assaulted by a UK-bound migrant in Calais. The *Afghan refugee* pounced as the local woman, in her 20s, was returning from a bakery. (*Daily Mail*)

Example (6) is an extreme instance, but it illustrates the way in which two stories, (i) the rape committed by a refugee in France and (ii) government reactions to illegal immigration from France, are combined and presented to the reader as coherent, by placing them within a single paragraph, even though there is no actual

connection. In Example (7) the threat is presented in two ways: first, the physical threat of the sexual attack, and second, the threat of the *UK-bound* perpetrator (also repeated in the article's headline *MOTHER SEXUALLY ASSAULTED BY MIGRANT BOUND FOR BRITAIN*).

In terms of the construction of a moral panic, the migrants from Afghanistan are presented as 'scape-goats', the main 'object of offence' is taking advantage of the resources made available in the UK although there is also a smaller group of stories relating to sexual assault. There is also a forceful 'rhetoric', as seen above, and in the case of the *Express* an explicit link to moral panics. For the first 'object of offence' the main target or negative evaluation seems to be government policy rather than the migrants themselves. The figure of 'moral entrepreneur' and the 'corrective action' are less clear, although close reading of some articles suggested deportation as the argumentation's end-point, this was also criticised as a threat to *the taxpayer*, as illustrated in Examples (8) to (10), all from different newspapers but reporting the same story in a very similar way, presumably because it was a press release.

- (8) A CHARTER flight paid for by *British taxpayers* was flying to Afghanistan today full of *illegal migrants* arrested around Calais. (*Express*)
- (9) A FLIGHT paid for by *British and French taxpayers* is set to fly to Afghanistan today carrying *illegal migrants* arrested around Calais. (*Sun*)
- (10) A CHARTER flight paid for by *British and French taxpayers* is set to fly to Afghanistan today carrying around 250 *illegal migrants* arrested near Calais. (*Mail*)

4.3 Italian nationals: Libya, Somalia, Eritrea

As seen in Table 5, the frequency of references to particular nationalities/identities in connection with ICES terms was much lower in the Italian national newspapers than in the regionals. The references to Somali (21 instances) or Eritrean (20 instances) migrants were found to occur in very similar contexts, mainly describing movement towards Italy. On examining the co-text, it appeared that the occurrences seemed to take a sympathetic stance, as illustrated in Example (11) and the concordance lines in Figure 5.

- (11) È il dramma di un'altra carretta del mare, respinta dai nostri vicini: un barcone con duecento *clandestini* (molte le donne e i bambini, probabilmente sono *eritrei*) che da due giorni sta navigando in acque di competenza maltese e ha rischiato di essere riportato in Libia.

[It is the tragic story of another unsound boat, sent back by our neighbours: a boat with 200 *illegal immigrants* aboard (many women and children, probably *Eritrean*) which for two days had been sailing in Maltese waters and risked being taken back to Libya] (*La Stampa*)

N Concordance

1 è rimasta dentro? "L'arrivo **tragico** di tredici cittadini **somali** nell'ottobre del 2003. Erano partiti in cento,

2 i rifugiati cita "la **tragica** evenienza" del gommone di **eritrei** rimasto senza soccorsi tra Libia, Malta e Italia,

3 **tragedia**: lo sterminio in mare di settantatré migranti **eritrei** - superstiti cinque, sull'orlo dell'agonia - ha

4 Libia I sospetti del Viminale dopo la **tragedia** dei 73 **eritrei** BYLINE: RUOTOLO GUIDO SECTION:

5 botta e risposta con la Lega La **tragedia** dei profughi **eritrei** al largo delle coste di Lampedusa accende la

6 pubblico seguito alla **tragedia** in mare degli immigrati **eritrei** indica che siamo forse a un punto di svolta dei

7 pò d'acqua e del pane". Sono cinque i sopravvissuti **eritrei** all'ennesima **tragedia** dell'immigrazione: una

8 Sono settantacinque extracomunitari, probabilmente **somali** ed eritrei, gli ultimi "respinti" in mare, partiti

9 rende giustizia ai "sospetti" che gli altri cinque **eritrei** sopravvissuti alla **tragedia** della settimana

10 CLANDESTINI. LA **TRAGEDIA** DEI 73 **ERITREI** MORTI (continua a pagina 9) La Stampa 25

11 extracomunitari, probabilmente somali ed **eritrei**, gli ultimi "respinti" in mare, partiti forse da un

12 la guerra civile è iniziata: la voce che la **tragedia** **somala**, unico caso di disordine che con il tempo

13 tra la Lega e i vescovi, dopo la **tragedia** degli **eritrei**: «Qui mi trovo a mio agio. Credo che il nostro

14 Il ministro degli Esteri Frattini, dopo la **tragedia** degli **eritrei** morti su un gommone lasciato alla deriva in

15 dopo una **tragedia** non troppo diversa da quella degli **eritrei** di questi giorni (l'affondamento di un barcone

16 immigrati. A sollevare le polemiche la **tragedia** degli **eritrei** nel Canale di Sicilia e le successive

17 una **tragedia** del mare secondo il racconto di cinque **eritrei**, gli unici superstiti della traversata, raccolti da

18 nuova **tragedia** con appena cinque superstiti - cinque **eritrei**, una donna, due uomini e due ragazzi - salvati

19 , proprio mentre si scopre il **tragico** naufragio di 73 **eritrei**, ieri sera l'orrido gioco elettronico «rimbalza il

20 , ha ricordato, riferendosi alla **tragedia** dei migranti **eritrei**, il dovere, per legge, di soccorrere chi è in

Figure 5. Concordance lines illustrating co-occurrences of *tragic/tragedy* and *Eritre*/Somali**

Similarly, the references to Libya and Libyans also tended not to refer to people actually within Italy. The two most salient lexical collocates of *Libya/LIBYAN* in the context of ICES terms were *respinti* ("sent back"), *riportati* ("taken back") and the majority of occurrences referred to the 2008 agreement between the Italian and Libyan governments, under which Italy agreed to pay \$5 billion in damages for the occupation of Libya, and Libya agreed to take back refugees who had tried to reach Italy from the Libyan coast. When the concordance lines were examined, the migrants were rarely actors in the clauses (19% of occurrences, compared to 66% as goals); they were predominately represented as acted upon in terms of being sent back to Libya.

5.4 Italian regionals: Nigeria

As seen in Table 5, references to migrants were much more frequent in the Italian regional press, and the most salient nationality was Nigerian. Table 9 shows the results of the distributional thesaurus for *NIGERIANO* (as a noun), as generated

by *Sketch Engine*. This shows lexical items which occur in similar co-texts to the search term.

From Table 9 it is clear that Nigerian is used in similar ways to other African nationalities and East European groups, in particular, Romanians (if we take into account the two different spellings), who have been a high-profile target of racism and xenophobia in Italy (see for example Scagliotti 2011). Pakistani, another salient nationality from Table 5, also appears in the list. From the items that do not refer to nationality, there is a dominant theme relating to (semi)criminal behaviour, as highlighted in bold. The focus on 'crime' as a key feature is consonant

Table 9. Thesaurus entries for *NIGERIANO* in the Italian regional press

Lemma	Score	Freq.
egiziano ("Egyptian")	0.327	308
magrebino ("Maghreb")	0.299	486
algerino ("Algerian")	0.286	211
senegalese	0.284	675
romeno ("Romanian")	0.283	731
rumeno ("Romanian")	0.279	487
moldavo ("Moldovan")	0.276	315
ucraino ("Ukrainian")	0.267	166
pakistano ("Pakistani")	0.24	255
tunisino ("Tunisian")	0.235	1,330
pregiudicato ("person with a criminal record")	0.233	336
minorenne ("person who is underage")	0.224	519
nordafriano ("North African")	0.214	537
lucciola ("prostitute")	0.208	201
bengalese ("Bengali")	0.207	198
irregolare ("undocumented")	0.206	614
cinese ("Chinese")	0.198	1,188
marocchino ("Moroccan")	0.197	2,047
connazionale ("fellow countryman/woman")	0.193	1,100
marocchina ("Moroccan", f.)	0.183	101
peruviano ("Peruvian")	0.182	179
macedone ("Macedonian")	0.172	139
prostituta ("prostitute")	0.167	554
pusher ("drug dealer")	0.163	301
rapinatore ("robber")	0.161	544

with previous research into the representation of migrants in the Italian press. According to Maneri (2001: 13), “‘immigration and crime’ is one of the *tags* used most frequently in describing articles in the local press from the early nineties onwards; and ‘risk’ or ‘safety’ is the *frame* that is increasingly frequently used in constructing discourse on crime and on immigration” (italics in original, translation from Italian).

Moving to the brief transitivity analysis, rather like the migrants in the national press, this group was primarily assigned the role of goal in the clause (57% of occurrences). However, the processes were very different because they mainly related to the semantic field of “law”, the ten most salient processes identified using the *Sketch Engine* Word Sketch function for just the noun Nigerian were: *condannare* (“to sentence”), *indagare* (“to investigate”), *riconoscere* (“to recognise”), *arrestare* (“to arrest”), *incontrare* (“to meet”), *identificare* (“to identify”/“to name”), *affermare* (“to state”/“to claim”), *risultare* (“to turn out to be”), *denunciare* (“to report to the police”/“to charge”). The relational processes also pointed to the dominance of the crime as they mainly related individuals to unlawful states, as illustrated in Example (12).

- (12) Dagli accertamenti è emerso che uno dei nigeriani è clandestino
[From the checks it came out that one of the Nigerians is an illegal
immigrant] (*Nazione*)

From the analysis, it appears that migrants from Nigeria are represented negatively but they do not appear to be, at this stage, the ‘scapegoat’ in a full moral panic story, partly because they are presented as actors quite rarely (17% of occurrences) and therefore they are mainly represented as being ‘controlled’. There is an implicit ‘corrective action’ in that they are frequently described as having been arrested, detained and so on. Although the representation fits with Maneri’s (2001) aforementioned model of crime and immigration being linked with the frame of security/safety, the crimes are primarily non-threatening, for instance, the most frequent offence is being an undocumented migrant. As a result, there was no clear ‘moral entrepreneur’ or ‘consequence’.

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have raised some of the issues surrounding cross-linguistic corpus assisted discourse studies. In particular I have emphasised the need for the researcher to have an awareness of translation issues and practice because this is precisely the kind of area where we can learn a great deal from a neighbouring discipline. I have also focussed on another methodological issue, namely the need

to look outside the corpus, particularly when performing discourse analysis which necessarily involves analysing language in context. In this paper, external data were used both to try and interpret and explain our data and also as a means of identifying areas for analysis from a more objective and replicable starting point. Furthermore, from a methodological aspect, I have attempted to ensure that both the corpus linguistics and the discourse analysis components draw on recognised frames of analysis, based on the assumption that using recognised classification systems enhances transparency and replicability. It has not been possible to provide an exhaustive analysis here but the methods have been illustrated to show how this kind of structured discourse analysis can help avoid falling into what Halliday (1994: xvi–xvii) termed “a running commentary on the text”.

Through examining mismatch between expected and actual levels of prominence in the press I identified geographical nationalities which were foregrounded and thus potentially the focus of a moral panic. Subsequently, the moral panic frame, as developed by McEnery (2005), was used to test whether these nationalities were indeed being presented as ‘scapegoats’. The results of this stage are presented as a sample of how the research could unfold; in further research it will be revealing to compare the evaluative language structures employed in constructing the ‘scapegoats’ in different time periods and cultures and test to what extent the frames remain stable.

It was found that the foregrounded groups in the UK broadsheets and Italian national newspapers tended to be asylum seekers and in both cases they seemed to focus on migrants being expelled from the country. From this analysis it was also clear that prominence in the press reporting did not necessarily correspond to unfavourable evaluation and we should be careful of making this link without examining the co-text more carefully. In the UK tabloids and the Italian regional press the foregrounded nationalities were more likely to be migrants actually in the UK or Italy respectively and they were more likely to be negatively represented. In the case of migrants from Afghanistan in the UK press this took the form of representing them as a threat to the UK taxpayer. In the Italian regional newspapers the threat that is associated with migrants from Nigeria is that of unlawful behaviour. The negative representation was intensified in some cases through the use of rhetorical features such as metaphor, but there was no evidence that these two groups of migrants were the subject of a moral panic and sections of the frame, for instance, ‘moral entrepreneur’ were unfilled. This contrasts with previous work on 2007 data (Taylor 2009, Morley & Taylor 2012), which saw migrants from China as the subject of a moral panic in the Italian press, helps to highlight the transient nature of these events. It is also the case that some nationalities who are highly populous may also be the ‘scapegoat’ in a moral panic and would have not been identified with the measure of salience operationalised here.

Finally, it was interesting to note in the analysis that some of these nationalities were actually featuring in moral panics, but using vaguer geographical terms — more specifically, they were found for migrants described as being from East Europe in the UK tabloids and Italian regional press (though with different objects of offence) and (North) Africa in the Italian regional press. The extent to which the UK broadsheet and Italian national press reflect or challenge these discourses needs further investigation, for instance focussing on positive representations may help identify alternative narratives and discourses which co-exist in the discursive constructions in the press.

References

- Baker, P. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum
- Baker, P. 2007. *Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2006: Full Research Report. ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-22-1381*. Swindon: ESRC.
- Baker, P. 2012. "Acceptable bias?: Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis". *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9 (3), 247–256. DOI: 10.1080/17405904.2012.688297
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyzanowski, M., McEnery, T. & Wodak, R. 2008. "A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press". *Discourse and Society*, 19 (3), 273–306. DOI: 10.1177/0957926508088962
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C. & McEnery, T. 2013. *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press*. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511920103
- Bayley, P. & Williams, G. (Eds.) 2012. *European Identity: What the Media Say*. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199602308.001.0001
- Berber Sardinha, T. 2000. "Semantic prosodies in English and Portuguese: A contrastive study". *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 9 (1), 93–110.
- CENSIS 2010. "Dare casa alla sicurezza: Rischi e prevenzione per i lavoratori domestici. Sintesi della ricerca". Rome 13 July 2010. Available at: http://www.censis.it/14?shadow_ricerca=107728 (last accessed May 2014).
- CENSIS 2010. *Rapporto Sopemi Italia. Immigrazione e Presenza Straniera in Italia, 2009-2010*, Rome November 2010. Available at: http://intranet.censis.it/ricerche/2011/99120_2011/prodottifinali/Sopemi%20Rapporto_Italia.pdf (last accessed May 2014).
- Cohen, S. 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. St. Albans: Paladin.
- Costi, N. 2010. "The spectre that haunts Italy: The systematic criminalisation of the Roma and the fears of the Heartland". *Romani Studies* 20 (2), 105–136. DOI: 10.3828/rs.2010.5
- Fowler, R. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Freake, R., Gentil, G. & Sheyholislami, J. 2011. "A bilingual corpus-assisted discourse study of the construction of nationhood and belonging in Quebec". *Discourse & Society*, 22 (11), 1–27. DOI: 10.1177/0957926510382842

- Gabrielatos, C. 2007. "Selecting query terms to build a specialised corpus from a restricted-access database". *ICAME Journal*, 31, 5–43.
- Gabrielatos, C. & Baker, P. 2008. "Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996–2005". *Journal of English Linguistics*, 3 (5), 5–38. DOI: 10.1177/0075424207311247
- Gabrielatos, C., McEnery, T., Diggles, P. & Baker, P. 2012. "The peaks and troughs of corpus-based contextual analysis". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 17 (2) 151–175. DOI: 10.1075/ijcl.17.2.01gab
- Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. 1965. "The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers". *Journal of International Peace Research*, 2 (1), 64–91. DOI: 10.1177/002234336500200104
- Granger, S., Lerot, J. & Petch-Tyson, S. (Eds.) 2003. *Corpus-based Approaches to Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar. 2nd Edition*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. 2001. "What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited". *Journalism Studies*, 2 (2), 261–280. DOI: 10.1080/14616700118449
- Hart, C 2010. *Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Science: New Perspectives on Immigration Discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1057/9780230299009
- Jaworska, S. & Krishnamurthy, R. 2012. "On the F-word: A corpus-based analysis of the media representation of Feminism in British and German press discourse, 1990–2009". *Discourse & Society*, 23 (4), 401–431. DOI: 10.1177/0957926512441113
- Kilgariff, A., Rychly, P., Smrz, P. & Tugwell, D. 2004. *The Sketch Engine. Proc EURALEX 2004*, Lorient, France; 105–116. Available at: <http://www.sketchengine.co.uk> (last accessed May 2014).
- Laquinta, M. 2002. *Mezzogiorno, emigrazione di massa e sottosviluppo*. Cosenza: Pellegrini.
- Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. 1996. "Cross-linguistic and language-specific aspects of semantic prosody". *Language Sciences*, 18 (1–2), 153–178. DOI: 10.1016/0388-0001(96)00013-7
- Lorés Sanz, R. 2011. "The study of authorial voice: Using a Spanish-English corpus to explore linguistic transference". *Corpora*, 6 (1), 1–24. DOI: 10.3366/cor.2011.0002
- Lynn, N. & Lea, S. 2003. "A phantom menace and the new apartheid: The social construction of asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom". *Discourse & Society*, 14(4), 425–452. DOI: 10.1177/0957926503014004002
- Madroane, I. D. 2012. "Roma, Romanian, European: A media framed battle over identity". *CADAAD Journal*, 5 (2), 102–119.
- Maneri, M. 2001. "Il panico morale come dispositivo di trasformazione dell'insicurezza". *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, (1), 5–40.
- Mautner, G. 1995 (published under the name of "Hardt-Mautner"): "Only connect: Critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics". *UCREL Technical Paper 6*. Lancaster: University of Lancaster. Available at: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/tech_papers.html (last accessed May 2014).
- Mautner, G. 2010. *Language and the Market Society. Critical Reflections on Discourse and Dominance*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Mautner, G. 2009. "Checks and balances: How corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA". In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, 122–143.

- McEnery, T. 2005. *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power from 1586 to the Present*. Routledge: London.
- Morley, J. & Bayley, P. 2009. *Wordings of War: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies on the Iraq War Conflict*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Morley, J. & Partington, A. 2009. "A few frequently asked questions about semantic – or evaluative – prosody". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 14 (2), 139–158. DOI: 10.1075/ijcl.14.2.01mor
- Morley, J. & Taylor, C. 2012. "Us and them: How immigrants are constructed in British and Italian newspapers". In P. Bayley & G. Williams (Eds.), *European Identity: What the Media Say*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 190–223. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199602308.003.0007
- Moschonas, S. & Spitzmuller, J. 2010. "Prescriptivism in and about the media: A comparative analysis of corrective practice in Greece and Germany". In S. Johnson & T. M. Milani (Eds.), *Language Ideologies and Media Discourse: Texts, Practice, Politics*. London: Continuum, 17–40.
- Munday, J. 2011. "Looming large: A cross-linguistic analysis of semantic prosodies in comparable reference corpora". In A. Kruger, K. Wallmach & J. Munday (Eds.), *Corpus-Based Translation Studies*, London/New York: Continuum, 169–186.
- Murphy, A. C. 2005. "Markers of attribution in English and Italian opinion articles: A comparative corpus-based study". *ICAME Journal*, 29, 131–150.
- Murphy, A. C. 2011. "Oh! What a humanitarian war! A comparative corpus-assisted study of *humanitarian/umanitario* in English and Italian opinion articles". *Analisi linguistica e letteraria*, 1, 33–62.
- Partington, A. 2004. "Corpora and discourse, a most congruous beast". In A. Partington, J. Morley & L. Haarman (Eds.), *Corpora and Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang, 11–20.
- Partington, A. 2009. "Evaluating evaluation and some concluding thoughts on CADS". In J. Morley & P. Bayley (Eds.), *Wordings of War: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies on the Iraq War Conflict*. London/New York: Routledge, 261–304.
- Partington, A., Duguid, A. & Taylor, C. 2013. *Patterns and Meanings in Discourse: Theory and Practice in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/scl.55
- Rasinger, S. M. 2010. "'Lithuanian migrants send crime rocketing': Representations of 'new' migrants in regional print media". *Media, Culture & Society*, 32 (6), 1021–1030. DOI: 10.1177/0163443710380311
- Richardson, J. E. 2001. "'Now is the time to put an end to all this': Argumentative discourse theory and 'Letters to the Editor'". *Discourse & Society*, 12 (2), 143–68. DOI: 10.1177/0957926501012002002
- Scagliotti, L. 2011. *Racist Violence in Italy*. Brussels: European Network against Racism.
- Sciortino, G. & Colombo, A. 2004. "The flows and the flood: The public discourse on immigration in Italy, 1969–2001". *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9 (1), 94–113. DOI: 10.1080/1354571042000179209
- Scott, M. 2008. *WordSmith Tools version 5*. Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software.
- Scott, M. 2010. "Problems in investigating keyness, or clearing the undergrowth and marking out trails". In M. Scott & M. Bondi (Eds.), *Keyness in Texts*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 43–57. DOI: 10.1075/scl.41.04sco

- Sinclair, J. 1988. "Mirror for a text". *Journal of English and Foreign Languages*, 1, 15–44.
- Stewart, D. 2009. "Safeguarding the lexicogrammatical environment: Translating semantic prosody". In A. Beeby, P. Rodríguez Inés & P. Sánchez-Gijón (Eds.), *Corpus Use and Translating: Corpus Use for Learning to Translate and Learning Corpus Use to Translate*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 29–46. DOI: 10.1075/btl.82.04ste
- Storjohann, P. & Schröter, M. 2013. "Präsenz und Absenz lokaler Diskursgebrauchsmuster am Beispiel des deutschen und britischen Krisendiskurse". In *Sprachliche Konstruktionen von Krisen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf ein fortwährend aktuelles Phänomen*. Hempen: Bremen, 185–208.
- Schröter, M. & Storjohann, P. forthcoming. "Patterns of discourse semantics: The discourse key-word financial crisis in British newspaper discourse (2009)". *Pragmatics and Society*.
- Stubbs, M. 1996. *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-Assisted Studies of Language and Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stubbs, M. 2002. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Taboada, M., Doval-Suárez, S. & González-Álvarez, E. (Eds.) 2013. *Contrastive Discourse Analysis: Functional and Corpus Perspectives*. Sheffield: Equinox.
- Taylor, C. 2009. "The representation of immigrants in the Italian press". *CirCap Occasional Papers* 21. Siena: University of Siena.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. & Manca, E. 2002. "Welcoming children, pets and guests. A problem of non-equivalence in the languages of Agriturismo and Farmhouse Holidays". *Textus*, 15 (2), 317–334.
- Triandafyllidou, A. 1999. "Nation and immigration: A study of the Italian press discourse". *Social Identities*, 5 (1), 65–88. DOI: 10.1080/13504639951626
- Van Dijk, T. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Vasta, E. 1993. "Rights and racism in a new country of immigration: The Italian case". In J. Wrench & J. Solomos (Eds.), *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*. Oxford: Berg, 83–98.
- Vessey, R. 2013. "Methodological challenges in cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies". *Corpora*, 8 (1), 1–26. DOI: 10.3366/cor.2013.0032
- Williams, I. A. 2010. "Cultural differences in academic discourse: Evidence from first-person verb use in the methods sections of medical research articles". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 15 (2), 214–239. DOI: 10.1075/ijcl.15.2.04wil
- Woodcock, S. 2010. "Gender as catalyst for violence against Roma in contemporary Italy". *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44 (5), 469–488. DOI: 10.1080/0031322X.2010.527444
- Xiao, R. & McEnery, T. 2006. "Collocation, semantic prosody, and near synonymy: A cross-linguistic perspective". *Applied Linguistics*, 27 (1), 103–129. DOI: 10.1093/applin/ami045

Author's address

Charlotte Taylor
School of English
Arts B, Room 245
University of Sussex,
Falmer
Brighton, BN1 9QN
UK
charlotte.taylor@sussex.ac.uk